

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 045 274

24

RC 004 024

AUTHOR Krause, George W.; And Others
TITLE Teachers of American Indian Youth. National Study of American Indian Education. Final Report.
INSTITUTION Chicago Univ., Ill.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO PR-8-0147
PUB DATE Dec 70
CONTRACT OEC-0-8-080147-2A05
NOTE 24p.; Series 4, No. 5

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.25 HC-\$1.20
DESCRIPTORS *American Indians, *Authoritarianism, *Classroom Environment, *Cultural Awareness, Research, Sex Differences, Student Attitudes, *Teacher Attitudes, Teacher Characteristics

ABSTRACT

Characteristics and attitudes "of a substantial sample of teachers who teach Indian students in various kinds of schools" were studied by means of interviews, observation, and questionnaires. There were 634 teachers who filled out questionnaires, and 345 of them were interviewed. The following kinds of information about this sample of teachers was obtained: age, sex, grades which they taught, and types of schools. The study also revealed their attitudes and knowledge which might have a bearing on their effectiveness as teachers. Reliability was tested for 2 groups of attitude statements: those pertaining to authoritarian versus permissive attitudes about teaching and those pertaining to working with Indian children and their families. The statements making up these 2 complexes were ordered into 2 equal subgroups, each of which was subjected to a split-half reliability test which yielded reliability coefficients of .64 for each complex. Appendix I contains schools studied and teachers contacted; Appendix II contains average scores on questionnaires and interviews for all teachers responding. (IS)

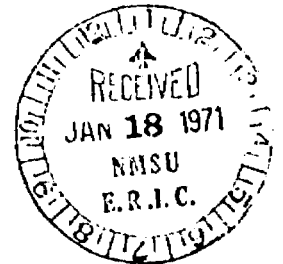
BR 8-0147
PA 24

RC

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

PROJECT OEC-0-8-08147-2805

FINAL REPORT



TEACHERS OF AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

Series IV. No.5

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION
& WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR
ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF
VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECES-
SARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

Georg Krause
Research Assistant
The University of Colorado
Carol Ziegler
Research Assistant
The University of Chicago
Robert J. Havighurst
The University of Chicago
December, 1970

ED0 45274

104924
ERIC
Full Text Provided by ERIC

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The attached paper is one of a number which make up the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education.

This Study was conducted in 1968-69-70 with the aid of a grant from the United States Office of Education, OEC-0-8-080147-2805.

The Final Report consists of five Series of Papers:

- I. Community Backgrounds of Education in the Communities Which Have Been Studied.
- II. The Education of Indians in Urban Centers.
- III. Assorted Papers on Indian Education--mainly technical papers of a research nature.
- IV. The Education of American Indians--Substantive Papers.
- V. A Survey of the Education of American Indians.

The Final Report Series will be available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service after they have been announced in Research in Education. They will become available commencing in August, 1970, and the Series will be completed by the end of 1970.

The National Study of American Indian Education

TEACHERS OF AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

George W. Krause
Carol Ziegler
Robert J. Havighurst

There must be about 10,000 elementary and secondary school teachers who work with more than two or three Indian pupils each day. Probably 6,500 of them are in classes with a preponderance of Indian boys and girls. They are in the following types of schools.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding and Day Schools	1,800
Public schools located on or near Indian Reservations	4,500
Mission and other private schools	300

Another 2,000 are teaching in public schools with 5 to 15 pupils in their classes, mainly in towns and rural areas. Another 5,000 are teaching in cities over 50,000 in population, with 2 to 5 pupils, enough to make them aware that they work with Indian pupils.

The National Study has observed and studied teachers in all of these categories.

The purpose of this paper is to report on the characteristics and the attitudes of a substantial sample of teachers who teach Indian students in various kinds of schools. The teachers were studied by means of interviews, observation, and questionnaires.

Since the National Study involved a wide variety of schools and school situations, it would be expected that a wide variety of teacher-Indian experience would be encountered. A few Indian teachers were seen, and they often had all-Indian classes. The majority of teachers were non-Indian. Some of them taught in all-Indian schools. Many teachers had only a few Indian pupils in their classes, and had no contact at all with an Indian community. A minority of teachers taught in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The majority of them taught in public school systems.

Description of the Sample of Teachers

There were 634 teachers who filled out questionnaires, and 345 of them were interviewed. This sample was distributed among various types of schools as indicated in Table I.

The mean age of the teachers who filled in the questionnaire was 33 years, and 58 percent of the teachers were women. The percentage of female teachers is high in the 21-25 year age group, drops to a low point in the 26-30 age range and increases again after age 30 to reach a peak in the 51+ age group.

Teachers were studied in every one of the schools in the National Study. In the smaller schools all or nearly all of the teachers filled out questionnaires. In some large urban schools with few Indian students, only a small sample of teachers was asked to fill out the questionnaire, and they were the ones with the most Indian pupils. Interviews were conducted by the field research staff with teachers in schools with ten or fewer teachers, all of them were interviewed. The target number for teacher interviews was at least ten, and no more than 20 per school.

Table 1

TEACHERS IN THE SAMPLE

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Rural or small town public schools	193	241	434
Urban (large city) public schools	14	56	70
BIA Day Schools	13	14	27
BIA boarding schools	37	48	85
Other	10	8	18
Total	267	367	634

If there were more than 20 teachers on the staff, the teachers were chosen who taught the grades from which the student sample came; i.e., grades 1, 5, 8, 11 and 12. The record of numbers of teachers interviewed and numbers responding to the questionnaire is reported in Appendix I.

Group discussions were organized in most of the schools, with 10 to 15 teachers meeting a researcher for a discussion which was generally tape recorded. These group discussions were analyzed and written up, and they have been drawn upon in the preparation of this paper.

Teachers were requested to keep diaries for a two-week period, but most of them did not follow through on this. However, a small number of diaries were handed in, and they also have been used in the preparation of this paper.

Instruments Used in the Study

It was desirable to get the usual kinds of information about this sample of teachers--their age, sex, grades which they taught, types of schools--and to study their attitudes and knowledge which might have a bearing on their effectiveness as teachers. For this purpose, an anonymous questionnaire was drawn up, with questions in the following areas:

- Demographic data
- Attitudes toward teaching Indian pupils
- Attitudes toward Indian people
- Attitudes toward school climate--authoritarian versus permissive
- Attitudes toward Indian culture

In order to get outside the limits of a pre-coded questionnaire, a series of interviews was held with a fairly large subsample of teachers.

The interviews were read and rated by judges on scales which had been devised to measure the following:

- Experience and knowledge of the local Indian community.
- Understanding and sympathy for Indian adults and students involved in the school.
- Attitude towards assimilation versus maintaining a separate Indian culture.
- Perception of the school's relation to the tribal culture.
- Perception of Indian students.
- Attitude toward teaching Indian students.
- Recommendations for training teachers to work with Indian pupils.
- Perception of the nature and degree of parental involvement in the school.
- Perception of Indian students' interest in the academic aspect of the school.

A study of the reliability and the validity of the ratings on these interviews has been made and reported fully in another paper.* The ratings reported in this paper are adequately reliable, and the interview protocols have a fair degree of face validity.

* Final Report: Series IV, No.7, The Use of Interviews and Rating Scales by Robert J. Havighurst. No.8, The Validity of Rating Scales and Interviews for Evaluating Indian Education, by Bruce Birchard. No.9, The Reliability of Rating Scales Used in Analyzing Interviews with Parents, Students, Teachers, and Community Leaders by Robert J. Havighurst

Administration and Analysis of Instruments. The teachers in the school under study were informed of the presence of the research team and the general purpose of the study, either individually through a form letter or in a meeting by the principal and/or a field worker. The different field teams did not administer the questionnaires at the same point in time during their visits. In some schools it took place very early, before or during the first stage of the interviewing of teachers. Teachers in other schools got the questionnaires during the final days of a team's presence. In a great number of schools the principal recommended to the teachers, or even urged them, to complete the forms, in a number of cases setting aside special time periods for this purpose. In other schools the completion and return of the forms were left entirely to the individual teacher, a difference in procedure reflected strongly in different rates of return.

The individual teacher interviews were taken during the entire time span the research team was present, with the individual interview ranging from 45 minutes to several hours, according to the amount of information the teacher was ready to give. The answers were taken down on the interview schedule and sometimes tape recorded. The group discussions were held during the last days of field work in the school, usually after the daily class period was over, a fact not always contributing to the eagerness and enthusiasm of the teachers to get much involved in basic issues. They took between 30 and 60 minutes and were tape recorded.

Classroom observations were made during the entire stay, taking from a few minutes to an entire classroom period. The respective teachers were always informed in advance about planned observations, and their permission was asked.

The answers to the demographic and attitudinal statements in the questionnaire were coded, wherever possible on an ordinal scale, implying a "more" or "less" of a certain dimension. For certain areas (Authoritarianism, Attitudes about Indians, Perception of Rigidity vs. Flexibility of the Local School Administration) cumulative scores were constructed. If more than a third of the items constituting a cumulative score was missing, no such score was computed. If fewer statements were unanswered, the average of the given scores was substituted for the missing ones in order to arrive at a cumulative score.

Reliability of Data. It is necessary to establish with some confidence the degree of reliability of the data from the questionnaire, and of the ratings from the interview. It appears reasonable to assume that the demographic data (age, grade teaching, sex, ethnic group) are fairly reliable. The responses to the attitudinal complexes, however, need some evidence of their reliability. This was tested for two groups of attitude statements--those pertaining to authoritarian versus permissive attitudes about teaching, and those pertaining to work with Indian children and their families.

The statements making up these two complexes were ordered into two equal subgroups each and subjected to a split-half reliability test which yielded reliability coefficients of .64 for each complex.

With a reliability coefficient of this magnitude, we cannot expect to find correlation coefficients between these attitudinal variables and other variables greater than .6. Furthermore, we can correct observed correlation coefficients for "attenuation" by a factor of 1.56. This means, for example, that an observed correlation coefficient of .42 between one of our attitudinal variables and some other variable would be corrected to .66.

RESULTS

The results of the study will be reported first for the total sample of 634 teachers. This sample is roughly representative of teachers who work with Indian students. The proportion of the sample who teach in BIA schools (18 percent) is somewhat less than the 25 percent of Indian school pupils who are currently in BIA schools. The proportion who teach in large city schools (11 percent) is probably a little greater than the proportion of Indian pupils in such schools. The proportion who teach in rural or small town public schools (68 percent) is probably very close to the proportion of Indian students in such schools.

The general results for the entire sample will give us an overview of the characteristics of teachers of Indian youth. We will later separate the sample into subgroups and look for differences among these subgroups. The general results are presented quantitatively in Appendix II which presents the average scores of the entire sample on all the items in the questionnaire and interview schedule.

Attitude Toward the Job and the Job Situation. The Anonymous Questionnaire contained the following item: How do you feel about your present job?

Very favorable ____; Favorable ____; Neutral ____;

Unfavorable ____; Very unfavorable ____.

This was identical with one used with Chicago public school teachers in 1964; also anonymous. The present group rate their jobs more than favorable (average of 1.73 on the five-point scale, which lies between "very favorable" and "favorable.") This compares with an average score of 2.17 for the Chicago teachers.

It is worth noting that 24 percent of the present group who filled out the questionnaire omitted a response to this question, whereas omissions were negligible in the Chicago study. Although both questionnaires were intended to be filled out anonymously, or at least without any chance of the local school principal seeing them, it seems likely that some of the questionnaires from teachers in the Indian study were handed, unsealed, to the principal for return to the researchers, and this fact may have inhibited some respondents from answering this question, especially if their attitudes were not favorable. Still, the conditions of anonymity were maintained in the great majority of the cases.

The questionnaire also contained a section of 6 items on the administrative "climate and structure" of the local school which was designed to get the teachers' perception of the relative rigidity-flexibility of the school situation. This was quite generally filled out by the respondents, who provided a general mean evaluation score just above the midpoint on the flexible side, 16.6 on a scale from 6 to 24.

Authoritarianism. Teachers responded to a set of eight attitude statements about students and student-teacher and student-administration relations. These were scored on scale from 8 to 40, with the higher scores favoring greater freedom and permissiveness for students. The over-all mean score was 28.2, definitely on the "permissive" side, and the mean score on each item was on the non-authoritarian side. The statement drawing the strongest non-authoritarian response was: "A few pupils are just hoodlums and should be treated accordingly."

Teachers' Contact and Knowledge of the Indian Community and Their Students. Information on this subject was obtained from data provided by the teachers about their residence, and from interviews with teachers which asked about the extent of their involvement in the lives of students outside the classroom and about the extent and nature of their communication with parents.

This variable would presumably be related to the student composition of the school and community. The teachers were almost evenly distributed among schools with:

- a. An Indian minority (3-25 percent Indian students)
- b. A middle proportion of Indian students (25-75 percent)
- c. A great majority of Indian students (75-100 percent)

Slightly more than half of the teachers live in teacher compounds more or less separated from the surrounding community. The urban teachers seldom lived in the same neighborhoods as their students. Eleven percent of the teacher sample are Indians, and they generally live also in compounds. From the interviews, the majority of the teachers were rated as having "some" or "rather limited" knowledge of the local Indian community and its lifeways. Many of them have participated in out-of-school activities with their students but mainly as observers (of athletic contests, exhibits of Indian art, etc.) rather than as active group members. The average teacher has met between 20 and 30 percent of the parents of his students, generally when the visit was requested by the teacher or on the occasion of a "parents' night" at the school. In general, then, their experience and contact with the local Indian community can best be described as limited.

Teachers' Understanding and Sympathy for the Problems of Indian Children and Adults.

Based on the interviews, a rating was given for a teacher's degree of understanding of and sympathy with the students and parents. In general, the teachers were rated at the mid-point of a 5-point rating scale, which indicates that they have sympathy and understanding for specific problems and aspects of their students' lives, but their comprehension of the total situation of the Indian community is restricted. Their perception of the Indian student in general is open-minded, with an effort made to understand. Most of them like their Indian students, and many of them say they prefer to teach Indian children over other teaching situations. When asked about their students' preferences between academic subjects (English, mathematics, science, etc.) and non-academic subjects (art, music, industrial art, home economics) they indicate that most of their students prefer the non-academic.

Attitudes About Indian Students. The questionnaire contained ten attitude statements about Indian children and Indian family life and culture. None of these is completely true and all of them are false if one interprets the statement strictly. For example:

- In the classroom, Indian children are shy and lack confidence.
- Indian children are well-behaved and obey the rules.
- Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school.

The respondent was asked to mark these statements as "true," "false," or "neither." Presumably, the well-informed teacher with a scientific attitude would mark all of the statements "neither" true nor false. However, the general attitude of the teacher toward Indians would probably lead him to mark favorable statements as "true" or "false" and unfavorable statements in the reverse. This section was scored three ways: for positive or favorable answers, for negative or unfavorable answers, and for "undecided" or "refuse to generalize" answers.

In general, the teachers averaged about twice as high on favorable attitudes as on negative or unfavorable answers. Most teachers had a small "uncertain" score, though this varied from one group of teachers to another.

Attitude Toward Cultural Assimilation. There were four measures of attitudes and perceptions on the issue of "Assimilation into the Dominant White Culture" versus "Maintenance of a Separate Indian Culture." In the interviews the majority of teachers tend to take the "man of two cultures" position. They believe that Indians should acquire the skills and attitudes that make for success in modern society, but they should also maintain some of their tribal or "Indian" culture. On the questionnaire they were asked to indicate their own schools' policy in this respect, and they tend to see their school as more "anglo-oriented" than their own preference would suggest. On the questionnaire item: "There is conflict between what most Indian parents teach their children and what this school tries to teach," they average right at the mid-point or "undecided" point on the scale. On the item:

"The Indian people should become completely assimilated with the larger American society," the average of the teachers' marks is at the "disagree" point.

Summing up, the teachers' position on assimilation is moderate and cautious, not anglo-oriented, but also not inclined to see the teaching of tribal or Indian culture as a major objective for them in school.

Characteristics of Sub-groups of Teachers

In order to understand and evaluate the teachers better, we have sorted them into a number of sub-groups and have compared these sub-groups. The sub-groups may be based on age, sex, or grade level of teaching, or on types of schools. Appendix III presents in graphic form a comparison of several sub-groups. The average scores of the total group are shown with a heavy vertical line on the scale of measurement. Then, by marking the average scores of women, it is possible to see approximately where the average score for men must lie; by marking the average scores of teachers in schools with a high percentage (76+) of Indian pupils, it is possible to see where the average score for teachers in schools with small percentages of pupils must lie. We shall now summarize characteristics of some of the sub-groups.

Age Differences. The sample was stratified in six age groups: 4 groups of 5 years each, between 20 and 40, a group 41-50, and a group aged 51 and above. The proportion of female teachers, 58 percent of the whole group, reaches a maximum in the oldest group. The older teachers give a more favorable rating to their job than the younger ones.

The level of authoritarianism is not related in any simple manner to age, though the 41-50 year olds have the lowest average score, while the 51 plus group have the highest score for authoritarianism.

Though the teachers' knowledge about the local Indian community augments with age, contact with students outside the classroom does not change with age. Younger teachers tend to be slightly more Indian-oriented than the older ones. The older teachers see the schools' policy with respect to assimilation of Indian students into white culture as very close to their own preferences.

Positive attitudes toward Indians increase with age while negative attitudes remain fairly constant. The older teachers tend to accept the positive statements uncritically, while the younger ones are more cautious and "scientific" in their judgment about broad stereotyped statements.

Sex Differences. Dividing the teachers along sex lines fails to bring about any striking differences. Women express somewhat more authoritarian attitudes, but fewer negative attitudes, and their views on assimilation are somewhat more Indian-oriented.

Grade Level of Teaching. As would be expected, 80 percent of the elementary school teachers are women, compared with 42 percent in the junior and senior high school. All grade levels rate their job satisfaction about the same. Elementary school teachers see the administrative structure of their schools as being less rigid. Teachers in the high school grades have significantly less contact with parents. Teachers in the elementary grades have more positive attitudes. High school teachers perceive their own schools' policy with respect to assimilation to be more Anglo-oriented than the elementary class teachers do.

Satisfaction with the Job. The 76 percent of teachers who rated their jobs were separated into those who rated the job as "favorable" or "very favorable," (66 percent) and the 10 percent who said they were "neutral" or "unfavorable" toward the job. Here some striking differences appeared.

As a group the not-satisfied teachers are younger than their "satisfied" colleagues. The satisfied teachers have more positive and less negative attitudes about Indians than the "not satisfied" group.

The "not-satisfied" teachers see more than any other group of teachers a conflict between the influence of the parents and the teaching of the school. They also see a large gap between their own attitudes toward assimilation and their school's policy, the school being more Anglo-oriented. There is an interesting paradox in the negative attitude toward Indian students as evidenced in the high negative score of the "not-satisfied" group and their professed desire that the school curriculum should pay more attention to Indian culture and history.

The "not-satisfied" group differs from the "satisfied" group in the fact that an unusually large proportion of its members teach in public urban schools. These teachers have very few Indian pupils in their classes, and their low satisfaction level probably reflects a generally low satisfaction on the part of teachers in big-city schools. It is not their experience with Indian pupils that makes them dissatisfied.

Indian Teachers. The 11 percent Indian teachers differ in many not unexpected ways from their non-Indian colleagues. Their knowledge about and contact with the Indian community is considerably higher. They tend to teach in schools with a high percentage of Indian students, and have more contact with parents and students outside of school. Their positive attitudes are considerably higher, the negative ones lower than for the non-Indians. With regard to their position on assimilation, the only difference if any to the non-Indian group is a slight inclination towards an Anglo orientation.

The Indian teachers, then, seem to be characterized as a group with close contacts to the Indian communities and a firm Anglo orientation for themselves and in their view on the role of the school.

Teachers with High vs. Low Percentages of Indian Students. Though teachers in schools with a high percentage of Indian students (75-100 percent) are somewhat less satisfied with their jobs, they see their school's administration as significantly more flexible than their colleagues in schools with a low percentage of Indian students (0-25 percent). The former group is also less authoritarian.

That there are major differences in the degree of contact with and knowledge about Indians does not come as a surprise. Though 80 percent of the teachers with a large majority of Indian students live in teacher compounds separated from their communities, 16 percent of them are Indians themselves (vs. 2 percent in the other group). The same group rates significantly higher on their knowledge about their Indian communities, and their contact with students outside school. These teachers also show more positive attitudes about Indians, rate higher in their sympathy for them, and see their Indian students as more interested in the academic aspects of school.

Both groups have very similar views on assimilation in general, and as their own goal of education; and only the group with the Indian minority sees their school's policy as significantly less Indian oriented than they are themselves.

Teachers with Much vs. Little Contact with Students. Comparing the two groups of teachers whose interview ratings show the most versus the least involvement with the lives of their students outside of school, we see that the latter group perceive their administrative school structure as more rigid than both the total teacher sample and their colleagues with high contact. But their authoritarianism scores do not differ from the general mean score. The group with little contact tends to teach in schools with fewer Indian students, and there are considerably fewer Indians (as teachers) among it than among the other group (5 vs. 20 percent).

Teachers with a great amount of contact rate considerably higher in their sympathy for their Indian pupils, see them significantly more interested in the academic aspects of school, and tend to make more positive judgments about Indians in general than their colleagues with little contact.

Against this background it is puzzling to see that with regard to the position on assimilation through education, the group with the highest out-of-school involvement holds a position considerably more Anglo-oriented than both the group with low student contacts and the total teacher sample.

This group, then, with a very positive over-all attitude towards their Indian students sees a better future for them only in less Indian-oriented schools. This position could be due either to their analysis of the situation and their resulting realistic conviction that the individual Indian, in order to get ahead in today's American society, has to have a good Anglo school training, or, since this group of teachers is not particularly critical of their school's administration, it could be just a going-along with the school's policy on that matter.

The Correlation Pattern. Another way of looking at the data is to compute correlation coefficients between every pair of variables from the questionnaire and interview. This has been done, and a sample of the correlation matrix is presented in Appendix IV. For the correlation study, the teachers were grouped into "Satisfied" and "Not-Satisfied" groups, the rural public school group, and the group teaching in schools with a high proportion of Indian pupils. It should be remembered that some of the variables have only two or three steps on the scale (sex, Indian-Caucasian), and many have 3 to 5 steps. Also, the Attitude variables have a statistical reliability coefficient of approximately .6, and therefore cannot correlate higher than this with other variables. Perhaps the most interesting are the correlations between the authoritarian-permissive dimension and the scores on positive and negative attitudes toward Indians. In general, it is seen that permissive attitudes correlate positively with favorable attitudes toward Indians.

Attitudes of Teachers of Indian Pupils

The attitude scores have been studied by separating the teachers into high and low halves on the attitude scales, and comparing the high and the low groups on other variables. For example, teachers who were high on the permissive-authoritarian scale were compared with teachers low on this scale, or more authoritarian in attitude. The more permissive teachers are significantly younger than their counterparts showing the higher authoritarian tendency. These latter teachers perceive the administrative procedures in their schools as considerably more rigid than the total sample of teachers taken together. The highly authoritarian ones tend to teach in schools with a lower percentage of Indian students. Their knowledge about their community and their contact with students outside of school is somewhat higher. Two statements on authoritarianism are most distinctive between the two groups of teachers: the one on the importance of students learning to obey rules, and the one stating "A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly."

Though the more permissive ones show significantly more positive and less negative attitudes toward Indians, their interviews are rated barely above average on sympathy and understanding, and on perception of and attitudes toward teaching Indian students. The highly authoritarian teachers feel much more strongly than their opposite colleagues that the teacher has to counteract the home influence on the pupil. And despite their high general empathy for their Indian students and their community, they are, in the attitudes with regard to assimilation, considerably more Anglo-oriented than their non-authoritarian colleagues.

With respect to attitudes toward Indian children and their families, we find that the teachers in general show favorable attitudes. Out of ten attitude statements, they agree with about 5 favorable statements, and split the other five almost equally between negative and neutral responses.

The urban teachers, who have few Indian pupils in their classes, give the highest number of neutral responses, indicating unwillingness to generalize about Indians. But when they do commit themselves, they support favorable over unfavorable statements at a ratio of about three to one, whereas the total group ratio is about two to one. These urban teachers are predominantly young, female, and teachers of elementary grades. All three traits are associated with favorable attitudes to Indian children.

The BIA day and boarding school teachers are more favorable in their attitudes than the public school teachers (BIA mean positive score, 5.3, compared with public rural school teachers mean score of 4.5).

However, there is one item which draws its most negative responses from BIA teachers, namely, "Indian students are shy and lack confidence in the classroom." On the other hand, BIA teachers agree more than any other group with the statement, "Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school."

Results of Interviews. When "understanding and sympathy for the Indian pupils and parents," is rated from teacher interviews, the BIA teachers rank highest, and the urban teachers lowest. Similarly, the BIA teachers were rated above the public school teachers on a global attitude toward Indian students. The BIA teachers had a modal rating at a level described as "The teacher evidences above average insight into his Indian students as individuals or as members of a meaningfully understood group." The public school teachers were rated just a step lower on this scale, indicating that they are somewhat uninformed but open-minded and desirous of closer understanding.

When teachers are rated from interviews on their attitude toward assimilation of Indians into the white culture, the rural teachers tend to favor assimilation more than the urban teachers do. They believe that Indians have some desirable values but these should not be developed to the point where they might adversely affect the learning of skills and knowledge that make for success in white society.

Teachers in all groups agreed that tribal or Indian culture and history should be taught in the school.

Two Diaries

Since not many teachers handed in diaries, we cannot assume that we have a good sample of them. However, it may be useful to read excerpts from two diaries of junior high school teachers--one from a man and one from a woman--so as to get a kind of living picture of what the life of a school-teacher is like in the Indian areas. The male teacher taught in the Blackfeet area. The woman taught in a mission school. The excerpts hang together pretty well, though parts of the diary have been omitted in each case.

I. School Teaching at Browning, Junior High level.

Monday, October 28, 1968.

I reside 13 miles from Browning. Usually I drive by myself, but today my wife wanted the car so I rode with 3 teachers from this building.

After arrival at school (approx. 8:10 a.m.) the general discussion was opening day of hunting season the previous Sunday.

At 8:32 class started then was interrupted by T.B. inoculations in the gym for about 30 minutes. Since this is review week for our 9-week test I don't like this occurrence. School day as usual with no unusual happenings.

School out at 3:27. We are required to be in the teachers' room or in the building until 4--which I think is foolishness.

Tonight there is an in-service meeting in the high school which is mandatory. I'm not too happy about this meeting, starting at 7 and ending at 9:30.

October 29, 1968

This day was pretty much routine as far as events go.

Hunting season has started and since I live close to the mountains I went for a drive with my family close to Glacier Park in search of game. On arriving home at 6:30 we had company in the form of the cook for the hotel in which we reside. My wife bore the brunt of the conversation for about 1 hour, while I watched TV. The talk ended about 8:30 p.m. then we retired.

October 30, 1968.

Class time in all sections normal. Discipline exceptional in all classes. At 1 p.m. today all Jr. Hi. students were assembled for a talk about "behavior" on Halloween night. A dance is planned for students Thursday night from 7:30 to 9:30. At 3:30 the head basketball coach at the high school met in the high school coaches' room for an initial meeting with all coaches concerning the up-coming basketball season. Mr. _____ and myself are Jr. Hi. coaches so our presence was necessary.

At 4:10 I left. . .

October 31, 1968

Tests for 9-week term given in all classes today.

At 4:30 the _____s came up to dinner at E. Glacier then Mr. _____ and I left to chaperone the dance at Browning beginning at 7:30. A tremendous response to this costume dance--a great success. I left the dance at 10 p.m. and went home. My wife wanted to hear all about it then we retired at 11:15.

Saturday, November 2, 1968

Our Saturday and Sunday was spent hunting while our wives went shopping and took my son to the dentist. Mr. _____, my uncle, and I went hunting after arising at 5:30 a.m. This day we bagged two elk. We hunted north of Whitefish. It took most all day to drag and field dress our animals.

At 4:15 we got back to Whitefish and took our elk to my father's garage to hang, got cleaned up and went out to dinner with our wives. We retired quite early (at 11:30) as we want to go deer hunting early Sunday. I very much enjoyed this day.

November 4, 1968.

Monday morning!!!

Tired, stiff and sore pretty much sums it up. Hunting stories flew fast and furious in the teachers' lounge until 8:32.

Each class has today an introduction to the human body. Surprisingly enough there were not many who I had anticipated would be making wise cracks, tittering and laughter. They were very attentive (in all classes) and orderly and I think awestruck. I am pulling no punches in explaining the body functions and make-up. Good, interesting sessions all!!!

4 p.m. I left for home and dinner at 5:00--conversed with my wife and son while watching TV and went to bed at 9 p.m.

II. Sister _____. Junior High teacher at _____ Mission School

January 7, 1969, Tuesday

4:45 - 6:00

Two students, who are boarders, had left some of their clothes at home and needed a driver to take them home to get them. I volunteered to help out. While at their house the family of the girls showed me their new home. Since we were in town the girls wanted to do a little shopping. Personal feeling toward this activity was a desire for recurrence because it is certainly an opening to get to know the parents and home situations.

January 8, 1969. Wednesday

8:15 - 12:45 p.m.

A few lay volunteers invited me to their house to help welcome the four student teachers from Antioch College in Ohio. The main aim of the group was to try and get a group together, plus the new teachers, and form a sensitivity training group among the ones interested in joining. The evening proved to be rather forced, but hope has it that it will loosen up as we get to know one another.

7:00 - 8:15 p.m.

Three girls from my 7th and 8th grade class had no desire to go to study hall tonight with the other teacher and just wanted to visit with me. I asked the teacher if I could keep them with me. The reaction of the students during the social hour was enlightening as well as rewarding. I found that these students have a complete other side than what they show in the classroom. On a non-academic level, they are free to review their whole self to you instead of a constant cover up.

January 9, 1969. Thursday.

A "freak out" dance was sponsored tonight by the 7th and 8th grade. We, the faculty, prefected the dance and also joined in their dances. Several other interested faculty members from the grade school and high school came and enjoyed the evening. My reaction to the dance was that of satisfaction because the students need to feel success in their endeavors. They organized and did most of the work in order for it to be a success.

January 13, 1969. Monday

7:30 - 9:30 p.m.

A faculty meeting was called by the principal for all teachers from K to 12 plus aides. The meeting touched on the regular problems of any school but later developed into a discussion on religion. Since the world is now experiencing a generation gap in the line of thinking and opinion, the meeting was rather heated, but at the same time real revelations of other beliefs came out. My evaluation in terms of my personal reaction was one of "I'm glad it came out," but also hope it doesn't continue. I'm in the young generation and believe that everyone has his own right to believe what he wants. It's ridiculous to discuss such opinions!

January 17, 1969. Friday

6:00 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

A meeting was held in Hot Springs, S. Dak. on a new method of teaching the individualized way. Several teachers went from the grade and high school. The speakers were from Cherry Hills in Denver which is an upper middle class

school. I thought the program was excellent, but couldn't be adapted to our situation on the reservation. Although many ideas were good and could be used. I really didn't want to go to this meeting, but obligation put me there.

January 23, 1969. Thursday.
5:00 p.m. to 10:45 p.m.

The Junior High had a basketball game away at White River, S. Dak. Again _____ and I took the boarding girls as well as the day students. We all went with the team on one big bus. My reaction was pleasure to see our kids get out and really play, but since this other school is a white school, I found much prejudice. This prejudice is not found so much between the students themselves, but the parents and referees really show it. The referees would not let our boys play the game. For example, our team fouled 24 times whereas the white team fouled 6 times. In spite of this opposition we lost by one point.

Perceptions of Teachers by Parents and Students

The interviews with parents and with students asked for evaluation of teachers. Thus it is possible to compare the perceptions of these two groups as they look at and evaluate the teachers. The student interviews are supplemented with a semantic differential instrument in which students were asked to rate "teachers."

For this comparison, the average ratings of teachers by parents and by students were used to pick out schools with high approval of teachers and schools with low approval. The teachers of these two groups of schools were then compared on the data from the teacher questionnaire and the teacher interview.

In schools where teachers are highly approved by students, the teachers are well above average in their enthusiasm for teaching Indians, know more about the Indian community, have more contact with Indian students outside of school, rate higher on understanding and sympathy and show more favorable attitudes toward Indians than the average teacher or the teacher in the schools with lower teacher approval scores.

The parents differ somewhat from the students in their evaluation of teachers. They favor teachers who are more authoritarian, and more Anglo-oriented with respect to assimilation policy. Also, these teachers have slightly lower ratings for perception and sympathy for pupils.

It is also possible to compare teachers in schools which are high and low in their approval value by students. The schools the Indian students like best are the ones with the highest percentage of Indian students. This factor may be more important to students than the actual qualities of the teachers in these schools. The teachers in these schools had generally positive attitudes toward Indian students. On the other hand, teachers in the less favored schools are more authoritarian than teachers in the other group, and are more critical of the school administration.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, the research evidence supports very strongly the proposition that teachers in schools with a preponderance of Indian pupils are fairly competent people, well-disposed toward Indians in general, middle-of-the-road on policy about assimilation of Indians into White culture and on the authoritarian-permissive dimension of classroom management.

Teachers in BIA schools are somewhat older and more experienced than teachers in rural public schools that serve Indian communities. The problem of teacher turnover which plagues the rural public schools is not so serious in BIA schools.

The following statement about teachers in Alaska by John Collier, Jr., who has been critical of the schools for Indians and for Alaskan natives is an illustration of our findings.* "We found few 'inferior' teachers. The vast majority of school personnel in Alaska appear to be dedicated teachers, often with excellent educational training. The material quality of the schools and the general excellence of staff--as evaluated within White educational standards--leave us with no villains, no clear-cut default, no run-down school plants. Yet, by some reverse process it appears that the better the school is by White standards, the more erosive becomes the educational experience."

Teachers and schools are up against the problem of teaching boys and girls who are caught between two conflicting cultures. The conflict is perhaps most serious with the Eskimos of Alaska, where the White culture has almost destroyed the pre-1940 economy of the natives of northwest Alaska. But the conflict is present in all Indian communities, whether they be relatively isolated, or immersed in a big city.

This conflict is being worked out by the Indian people, in situations where the government and other agencies of White culture both help and hinder. Schools and teachers cannot "solve" this problem, but they can be helpful in its solution. For this, they need a better knowledge and understanding of the Indian communities and the cultures in which they work. They need to apply themselves systematically and patiently to the specific tasks of teaching a given age level in a given type of community with goals that are approved and supported by the Indian community.

* "The Challenge of Eskimo Education," unpublished paper by John Collier, Jr. presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

APPENDIX I

SCHOOLS STUDIED AND TEACHERS CONTACTED

Field Center and School	Type *	Grades	Percent Indian Students	Total Number Teachers	Indian Teachers	Number Contacted Qstnr. Intrvd.
<u>Arizona</u>						
Papago						
Indian Oasis	RP	1-11	100	40 est	2	29
Topawa	RP	1-8	95			
Pima						
Blackwater	BD	1	100	8	0	8
Pima Central	BD	2-8	100			
Apache						
Ft. Thomas	RP	K-12	100	22	1	15
Cibecue	BD	1-8	100	8		8
Th. Roosevelt	BB	3-8	100	9	2	10
Pueblo						
Second Mesa (Hopi)	BD	K-6	100	9	3	3
Laguna-Acoma	RP	7-12	80	29	0	17
Navajo/Pueblo						
Tuba City High	RP	9-12	95	20	1	11
Phoenix Indian School	BB	7-12	100	65	8	11
<u>Colorado</u>						
Blackfeet						
Browning Elementary	RP	5-8	85	30	3	11
K. W. Bergan	RP	K-2	88	15		
Vina Chatten	RP	3-4	85	12		
Browning High School	RP	9-12	83	20		
Cut Bank Elementary	RP	K-6	10	23	0	3
Anna Jeffries Elementary	RP	K-6	15	12	0	
Cutbank Jr.-Sr. High School	RP	7-12	8	37	0	4
<u>Sioux</u>						
St. Francis Indian School	PB	K-12	100	33	7	18
Mission North Elementary	RP	K-3	95	13	3	13
Mission South Elementary	RP	4-6	95	12		12
Todd County High School	RP	7-12	90	36		31
* RP Rural Public BB BIA Boarding UP Urban Public BD BIA Day PB Private Boarding						

Field Center and School	Type*	Grades	Percent Indian Students	Total Number Teachers	Number Indian	Number Contacted Master, Intrvl.
-------------------------	-------	--------	-------------------------	-----------------------	---------------	----------------------------------

Colorado (continued)Sioux (continued)

Cheyenne-Eagle Butte Elemen.	RP BD	K-8	80	68	8 est	31 9
Cheyenne-Eagle Butte Hi. Sch.	RP BD	9-12	80			21 2

Navajo

Shonto Boarding School	BB	K-8	100	35	4	31 9
------------------------	----	-----	-----	----	---	------

San Francisco

Taholah Elem. (Wash.)	RP	K-6	100	7	2	7 7
Moclips Jr.-Sr. Hi. (Wash.)	RP	7-12	30	25 est	0	14 7
Neah Bay El. & Sec. (Wash.)	RP	K-12	66	19	0	15 13
Chemawa (Oregon)	BB	9-12	100	57	6	34 14
Hoopla Elem. & Hi. (Calif.)	RP	K-12	57/37	38	3	10 10
Bethel State (Alaska)	RP	K-12	90	46	1	37 26
Angoon Elementary (Alaska)	RP	1-8	100	8	0	8 7

Minnesota

Red Wing/Burnside	RP	1-8	5	16	0	15 40
Red Wing High School	RP	9-12	5	83	0	30

Menominee

Keshena Elementary	RP	1-5	95	10	0	7 } 25
Neopit Elementary	RP	1-5	100	9	0	1 }
St. Joseph Elementary	RP	1-8	100	8	0	4 }
Shawano Jr. High	RP	6-8	25	20 est	0	20 } 46
Shawano High School	RP	9-12	16	32 est	0	20 }

Minneapolis

Greeley	UP	1-6	22	24 est	1	13 33
Phillips	UP	7-9	20	35 est	0	22

St. Paul

Webster Elementary	UP	1-6	6	25 est	0	16 9
--------------------	----	-----	---	--------	---	------

North CarolinaLumbee

Robeson County, N.C.						
Magnolia Elementary	RP	1-8	100	30 est	40	9 9
Magnolia High School	RP	9-12	100	12 est		4 4
Pembroke Elementary	RP	1-6	95	18 est	45	7 8
Pembroke Jr. High School	RP	7-9	95	12 est		7 8
Pembroke High School	RP	10-12	95	18 est		4 5

* RP Rural Public
UP Urban Public

BB BIA Boarding
BD BIA Day

PB Private Boarding

Field Center and School	Type *	Grades	Percent Indian Students	Total Number Teachers	Indian	Number Contacted Qustr. Intrvd.
-------------------------	--------	--------	-------------------------	-----------------------	--------	---------------------------------

North Carolina (continued)

Baltimore

Elementary	UP	K-6	13	25	0	} 4 } 5
Jr. and Sr. High	UP	7-12	1-5	109	0	

Oklahoma

Pawnee Elementary	RP	1-8	19	20	} 5	4	} 14	
Pawnee High School	RP	9-12	19	30		4		
White Eagle Elementary	RP	1-6	100	5		2		3
Ponca City Jr.-Sr. Hi. Sch.	RP	7-12	10	40 est		5		7

Chicago

Brenneman Elementary	UP	1-8	5	35	0	5	5
Goudy	UP	1-8	5	26	0	5	5
McCutcheon	UP	1-6	5	25	0	4	4
Stockton	UP	1-6	5	65	0	0	0
Stewart	UP	1-6	5	40	0	3	6
Senn High School	UP	9-12	1	111	0	0	0

* RP Rural Public
UP Urban Public

BB BIA Boarding
BD BIA Day

PB Private Boarding

APPENDIX II

AVERAGE SCORES ON QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW

(For all teachers responding)

<u>DEMOGRAPHIC DATA</u>	<u>MEAN SCORE</u>
AGE	
1=20-25 2=26-30 3=31-35	
4=36-40 5=41-50 6=51	3.45
GRADE LEVEL TEACHING (Highest one given)	
0 = Kindergarten 1 = 1st grade, etc.	7.81
PERCENT INDIAN STUDENTS IN CLASS	
1 = 0-25 2 = 26-75 3 = 76-100	2.18
JOB RATING	
1 = very favorable 5 = very unfavorable	1.73
SEX	
1 = male 2 = female	1.58
ETHNIC GROUP	
1 = Non-Indian 2 = Indian	1.09
INTERVIEW RATINGS: POSITION AND ATTITUDE OF TEACHER WITH RESPECT TO:	
Experience and knowledge of local Indian community.	2.65*
Understanding of and sympathy for problems of Indian adults and pupils involved with this school.	3.00
Attitude toward assimilation (low) versus maintaining a separate Indian culture (high).	2.37
Perception of school's relationship as favorable to tribal culture.	3.69
Accurate perception of Indian students.	3.23
Favorable attitude toward teaching Indian children.	3.78
Extensive recommendations for training of teachers of Indians.	2.89
Involvement in life of students, outside of school.	3.13
Indian students' academic interest, as perceived by teacher.	3.19

*(1 = low 5 = high)

ATTITUDES: AUTHORITARIAN VS: PERMISSIVE

MEAN SCORE

It is undesirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies. 3.03
1 = strongly disagree (SD) 5 = strongly agree (SA)

Pupils should be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class. 3.75
1 = SD 5 = SA

Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar. 3.67
1 = SA 5 = SD

It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions 3.75
1 = SA 5 = SD

Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not influence school policy. 3.62
1 = SA 5 = SD

If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense. 3.37
1 = SA 5 = SD

A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly. 3.80
1 = SA 5 = SD

Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad. 3.70
1 = SA 5 = SD

CUMULATIVE AUTHORITARIANISM SCORE: 3 - 40 28.17

(High = permissive Low = authoritarian)

ATTITUDE INVENTORYMEAN SCORE

Indian parents treat their children with love and respect equal to that given to white children by their parents
1 = true 2 = neither 3 = false 1.56

No matter what we do in school, the culture of Indian children impedes their learning.
1 = false 3 = true 1.56

Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school.
1 = true 3 = false 1.69

Indian pupils would rather spend their time having a good time than working hard to get ahead.
1 = false 3 = true 1.98

Indian people are not competent concerning practical things.
1 = false 3 = true 1.61

Indian children are eager students with a highly developed desire to learn.
1 = true 3 = false 2.20

In the classroom, Indian children are shy and lack confidence
1 = false 3 = true 2.25

Indian children are well behaved and obey the rules.
1 = true 3 = false 1.84

Tribal religious beliefs impede the learning ability of Indian children.
1 = false 3 = true 1.46

Indian parents want to help their children in school.
1 = true 3 = false 1.65

CUMULATIVE ATTITUDE SCORE: Average number of times the teacher responds with:

POSITIVE ATTITUDE 4.65

NEGATIVE ATTITUDE 2.46

UNCERTAIN OR REFUSE TO GENERALIZE 2.57

ATTITUDES: INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS

MEAN SCORE

There is a conflict between what most Indian parents
teach their children and what this school tries to teach. 2.95
1 = Strongly agree 5 = Strongly disagree

It is often necessary that a teacher must counteract what
the Indian child is taught at home so as to prepare him to 3.04
live in today's American society.

There should be courses in the curriculum which teach
the local Indian history and culture. 1.77

The teacher should not encourage Indian students in
becoming more independent of parental control. 2.73

Courses such as math, reading, English, etc. should
use local cultural materials as subject matter. 2.52

Teachers of Indian children do not really know how
to communicate with these pupils. 3.32

The Indian people should become completely assimilated
with the larger American society. 3.35

TEACHER'S OWN POLICY ON ASSIMILATION 28.00

10 = Strong assimilation 20 = Assimilation
30 = "Both ways" 40 = Indian orientation

PERCEPTION OF SCHOOL'S POLICY ON ASSIMILATION 24.50
(same as above)

PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL
SCHOOL: CUMULATIVE SCORE RANGE, 6 - 24 16.59

(Low = rigid High = flexible)